7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4, 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B.Z.S.

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.[1] The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *kotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*kamui*).

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti.

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inau*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling.

[1] This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *kotan* chief.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 structure.

The relationship between organisms and environment is usually understood in terms of ecology. Ecology in this sense is the relationship between organisms and environment as recognized objectively by scientists, i. e. objective environment. Animal ecology reveals, however, that objective environment alone is not sufficient to account for animal behaviour, and that subjective environment as perceived by the animal itself plays a significant role in limiting its behaviour (ELTON, 1953, p. xvi; MIYAJI and MORI, 1957, pp. 24-28). The Ainu have their own view of nature: their activities react to and are limited by nature as seen by them. This implies that workings of the Ainu in relation to their habitat should be understood not only in terms of ecology in the narrower sense but also in terms of the relationship between man and nature as perceived by the Ainu themselves. This is the subject of the present paper. It aims to ascertain the reciprocal adjustments of both systems of relations between the Ainu and nature and their group structure.

101 Field trips were made to collect data in the following areas in Hokkaido: Saru valley in August 1951; Azuma, Mukawa and Chitose, or formerly Shikot, valleys in August and December 1952; upper Tokapchi, middle Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet valleys during August and September 1953; upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in August 1954; upper Tokapchi, Otopuke, Kushiro, formerly Kusuri, and Saru valleys in September 1957; Upper Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys in July 1958 and February 1959.

The main portion of the original data incorporated in this paper were collected in the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Azuma valleys, which form the objective areas of this paper. Data from other areas are only referred to on necessary occasions, because the time horizon of these data is, as will be explained later, a little newer than that of the data from the upper Tokapchi,

127 Otopuke and Azuma areas.[1] Except for references cited, the whole text of this paper is based on original data, while the notes are devoted to such original data as can not be given in the text and to citations from and discussions on published materials.

124 The data for the present study were obtained through interview technique. This method, which is usually employed in ethnographical or historical studies of anterior cultures for collecting of the culture elements or traits of a given group, has been seldom applied to functional or conjunctive studies of any group life. Such attempts as made by STEWARD (1938) and DRUCKER (1951), for instance, might be classed as exceptions.

121 The intention of the author was to understand the make-up and working of the Ainu groups of an anterior generation in relation to their habitat; accordingly, some special caution in handling the technique was necessary, viz., determination of a time horizon and indirect observation.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149).

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers.

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

(2) Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8).

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

(3) So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of

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175 71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of
166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger
648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at
464 the tradin, and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.
[462] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.
175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type
648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater
166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-
361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field
177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATUURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,
[433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-
[226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in
167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for
463 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabul-
127 ated as follows:

[p. 121]

III

805 (25) The Ainu months.—On either of the Tokapchi, the Otopuke and the Azuma, the Ainu had twelve successively named months covering the four seasons of the year: *shune an chup, kuekai chup, zuurup chup, toetanne chup, haprap chup, kiuta chup, shikiuta chup, momauta chup, shimauta chup, moniorap chup, shiniorap chup* and *urepok chup*. That the divisions seem to have been common to all the Hokkaido Ainu is indicated by information compiled by TAKABEYA (TAKABEYA, 1941, pp. 147-9). At least with the upper Tokapchi Ainu it seems that the custom was to begin with *shune an chup*; however, it has not been verified yet in any other area. The Ainu months have been correlated by some students of the Ainu to the twelve months of the Japanese lunar calendar (ibid., pp. 147-9). Both the above-cited material and that of the present writer indicate that *shune an chup* corresponds to the tenth month of the Japanese system and *urepok chup* to the ninth; by the solar calendar, *shune an chup* corresponds roughly to November and *urepok* to October.

136 (26) The cherry salmon, Oncorhynchus masou, which resembles O. kisutch, silver salmon or coho, which abound in the North Pacific and North America, are peculiar to Japan and its neighbouring waters. In Hokkaido especially they are found in such abundance that they come only second in importance after the dog salmon, O. keta (HIKITA, 1956, p. 33).

226 Generally speaking, cherry salmon in Hokkaido begin to run for spawn-
221 ing in early May, with of course some difference in different rivers (SANO,
136 1950, p. 16; IGARASHI, 1946, p. 13). In most of the Hokkaido rivers the fishing season lasts from June till September (HIKITA, 1956, p. 34; MIHARA et al., 1951, pp. 34-35) and passes into the dog salmon season that follows (ŌYA, 1954). In the Tokapchi today the season lasts from early June till late August, while that of the dog salmon extends from early August to late December (MIHARA, 1951, pp. 34-35). As for the height of the season no reliable information is available except ŌNO's, which gives it as from July to September
• [127] (ŌNO, 1933, p. 24). A journal kept by a group of the earliest settlers on the middle Tokapchi (HAGIHARA, ed., 1937) records in effect that in the 1883 season the first cherry salmon were taken in July (ibid., p. 134) and in the 1884 season in June (ibid., p. 137); in both seasons the runs and the landing were
136 largest in August (ibid., pp. 135 and 170). From the start of their run or arrival to their spawning, cherry salmon have a longer period to live in rivers than dog salmon (SANO, 1950, p. 16), their spawning period beginning

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p. 59).

Dens in very good conditions are used again in the following season by the same individuals, or sometimes by different individuals even two or three years later. For this reason, the Ainu regard the bear's den as something like a property (ibid., p. 63).

e) Place of hibernation and seasonal migration.—The bear is an animal which takes its abode in the mountain forest; however, owing to the food condition, it performs fairly constant migration. At the end of the autumn, it comes down from the mountains in search of food considerably near to human habitation and then begins hibernation. Coming out of its den in spring it goes back again to the interior (INUKAI, 1933, p. 58). In the mountain and forest district of Akan which retains more primitive conditions than other districts, according to the Ainu informants, a good many of the bears hibernate in the environ of Mt. O-akan which is rich in rock-caves suitable for their purpose. Part of those bears migrate toward Mt. Me-akan in early spring (INUKAI, 1934, p. 32).

(37) MATUURA's diary of his geographical exploration in 1857-1858 in the Ainu territory in Hokkaido (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937) contains some information on the local distribution of Hokkaido bears which supports the generalization from the writer's own data. The areas described by MATUURA as abounding with bears are all river-source areas (ibid., pp. 148, 156, 417 and 627), and the bear hunting grounds of the Ainu he incidentally recorded are all distributed in the source areas of rivers (ibid., pp. 284, 667 and 678). Regions recorded in connection with the deer are in every case distinct from these areas, places noted for abundance in the animal occuring invariably on level plains or hill skirts (ibid. pp. 134, 244, 273, 275, 365, 396, 415, 417 and 663).

(38) The scientific names here mentioned have been taken, for Nos. 9, 10 and 17, from MURAKOSHI and MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MURAKOSHI and MAKINO, 1956) and, for the remainder, from MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951) by referring through their Japanese names to CHIRI's dictionary (CHIRI, 1953). The places of occurence or habitat are cited from the bulletin of the Experimental Farm of Hokkaido (Hokkaido Nōji Shikenjyō, ed., 1931), with some modifications suggested by Dr. Hiro KANAI, of Botanical Institute, Tokyo University; reference was also made to The Hokkaido Government's Report (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1917), and to MAKINO's Manual of Flora in Japan (MAKINO, 1951). For detailed information on the cultural meanings and the uses of plants utilized by the Ainu, see CHIRI's dictionary (1953).

/333 cont./

175 342 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/ description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement, 175 342 354 352 127 171 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

[113] [127] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

3/4 [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

G SS 276 197 G [554] [321]

/468 cont./ wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [824]

A [191] [329]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

A [113]